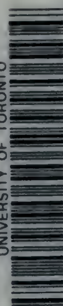

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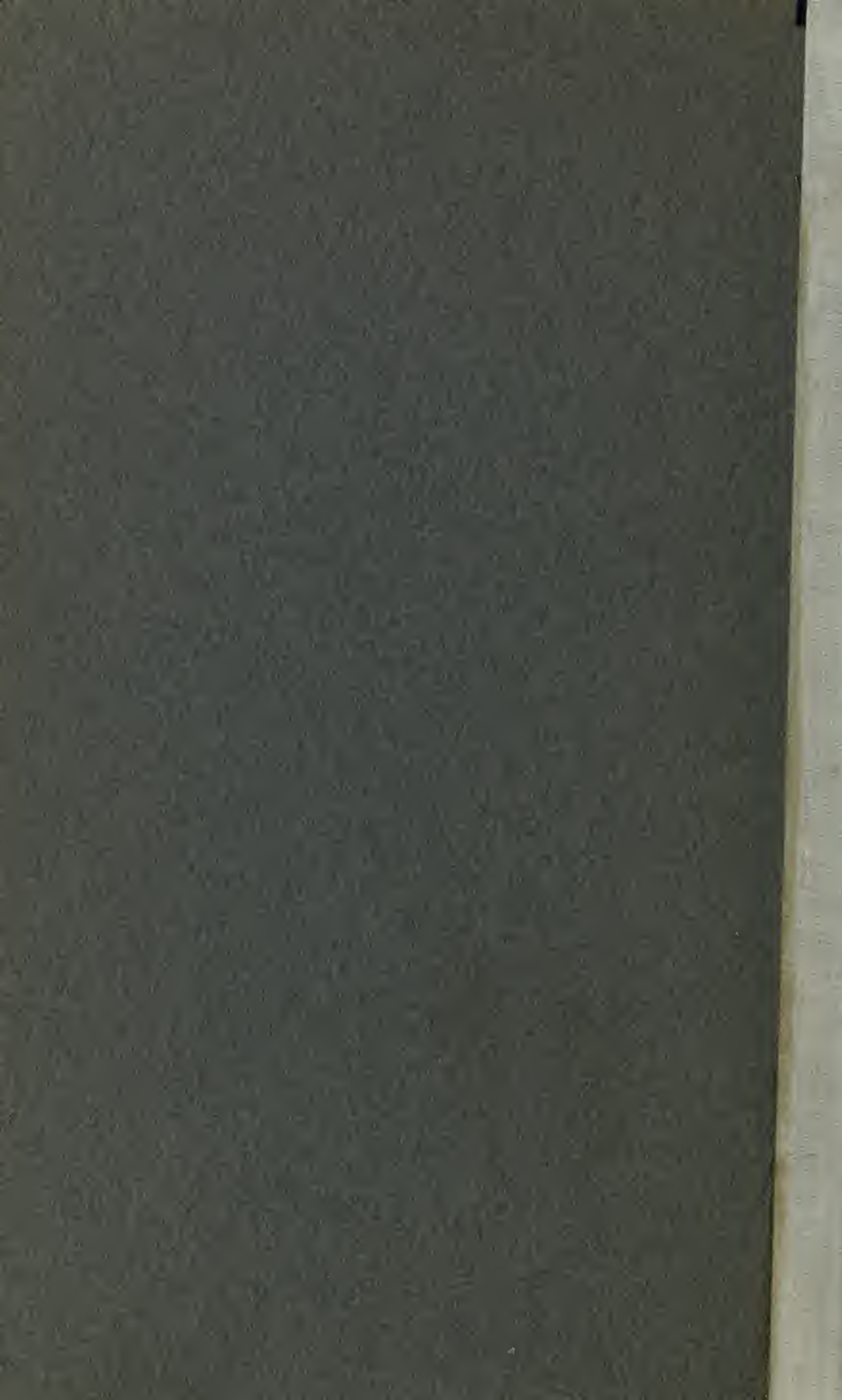

THE WORLD OF BOOKS IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

Young Man Reading, Relief in the Abbey of Grottaferrata

See page 13

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THE WORLD OF BOOKS IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

BY

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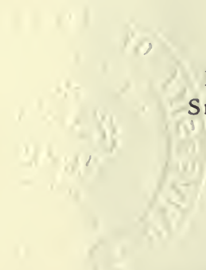

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To

SIR STANLEY UNWIN LL.D.

a modest token

of esteem and gratitude

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WERE IT NOT FOR BOOKS
HUMAN CULTURE
WOULD PASS INTO OBLIVION
AS QUICKLY
AS MAN HIMSELF

PLINY, NATURAL HISTORY
XIII. 68/70

LITERARY EVIDENCE AND PAPYRUS DISCOVERIES

No Greek or Roman author has left behind a complete account of the production and distribution of books in ancient times. Only occasional scraps of information are found scattered here and there over the whole field of classical literature. These are augmented by remarks in the writings of the Fathers of the Church and of some of their successors in the early Middle Ages. It is often difficult to understand these casual indications for the reason that they assume as common knowledge just those obscurities which we are trying to probe. Aristophanes, Plato and Xenophon could not have guessed that their works would be used to reconstruct the organisation of the book-trade in their time. Nor could Cicero, Horace or Martial.

Thus we have a mosaic pieced together out of the most varied fragments, and incomplete at that, with both outlines and detail often uncertain and disturbing gaps withal.

For examining the construction and appearance of

ancient books, we are not confined to the few relevant passages in literature. Their appearance is preserved not only in a great many works of art, such as statues, reliefs, vases and murals, but also in thousands of original copies, all of course more or less damaged. These are the so-called Papyrus discoveries. Most of them belong to the sphere of Greek culture and they far outweigh the meagre literary indications, which throw specially little light on books in the time of the Greeks.

In the year 1752 a library was excavated in the villa of the Pisones in Herculaneum which with Pompeii was buried in the great eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79 A.D. In the course of time some 1,800 charred scrolls were discovered there. Most of them are now in the National Library in Naples. Of the rest a few have found their way into the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Some of these charred cylinders have been, in spite of difficulties, successfully unrolled and made readable. Among them are copies which can be taken as typical examples of the classical book.

Papyri had been found from time to time in Egypt on previous occasions, but the last fifty years have seen a real flood of them. Amongst them are the remains of many books which were in favour with the Greek population at the time of the Ptolemies, and the Graeco-Roman population during the Roman Empire. This represents a period from the beginning of the third cen-

tury B.C. to the decline of classical antiquity. These treasures, most of which are now in the British Museum, had lain buried under desert sand for thousands of years. Some came to light where they had been thrown as rubbish in baskets on to the refuse-heaps outside the towns, some had been used for wrapping up corpses, and others had been put into graves in accordance with an age-old custom of burying the dead together with their favourite book. By no means all of these Egyptian papyri, even when their contents are literary, are books made for sale to the public. Many can be recognized as privately made copies.

SCROLLS AND PARCHMENT CODICES

The raw material of the classical book was the Papyrus roll, imported from Egypt. In ancient times the Papyrus reed grew almost solely in Egypt—whence it has now completely disappeared. The Arabs on their voyage of conquest first introduced it into Sicily, where its graceful reed still arrests the traveller's eye near Syracuse.

The use of Papyrus as writing-material is a very early Egyptian discovery which classical antiquity had to borrow to record its thoughts and intellectual achievements, as it borrowed so many other things from the culture of the land of the Nile.

The manufacture of scroll from reed is described in detail by Pliny the Elder in his 'Natural History', which may be likened to an encyclopaedia. The process is complicated and difficult, and for this reason papyrus was dear in ancient times, far dearer than good paper today. The papyrus industry was of considerable importance in the export trade of Egypt. In the time of the Roman Empire it seems to have been an imperial monopoly. A

receipt for the delivery of the stamps required by law was found among the Tebtunis Papyri. It is recorded that the Emperor Firmus (third century A.D.) boasted that he could keep a whole army on the proceeds of the revenue from the papyrus trade. This, however, may perhaps be taken to mean that he had himself acquired large papyrus-factories. In any case, huge quantities of the material were used in imperial Rome: entire cargoes of it were shipped in bales and it was kept in special storehouses (*horrea chartaria*).

Juvenal in his first satire calls the papyrus book short-lived, and in fact it is only in the dry climate of the desert that papyrus fragments could have lasted to the present day. In more humid climates the life of the material is limited: the ancients considered a papyrus roll two hundred years old a rarity. The decay of the delicate material is accelerated by handling and by constant rolling and unrolling. Moths are another source of danger since, according to Lucian, they love taking up residence in books. Horace complains in jest that the unaesthetic moths will devour his work.

In Greece the use of books in roll form can be traced back at least to the beginning of the fifth century B.C. From this time onward we come across them in works of art, such as the magnificent attic relief on a tomb in the abbey of Grottaferrata near Rome, which portrays a boy in the act of reading.

Throughout the classical period the papyrus roll remained the vehicle of Greek literature; when Greece was subjugated, the Romans in the course of the second century B.C. also adopted it.

In imperial Rome various kinds of papyrus were to be had, distinguished from one another in value and quality. The best was called 'Imperial' (*Augusta*, *Livia*, *Claudia*). Already Catullus speaks of 'Royal' (*chartae regiae*) as a *de luxe* brand. Egyptian factories delivered the rolls ready for use in various shapes and sizes. For scientific works a larger format was preferred, for poetry a smaller one. Large rolls were not in favour because of the danger of tearing them. 'A great book is a great evil,' Callimachus is reported to have said. From the size of the originals discovered and from data in Pliny, the usual size of the rolls seems to have been about 30 feet long, and 9 or 10 inches wide. Such a roll, being about two inches thick, could be comfortably held in one hand.

Writing on both sides of the papyrus is rare. The outside is left blank. The whole length of the inner side is divided into parallel columns corresponding to our pages and even having the same name (*pagina*). The text begins on the left and the columns succeed one another from left to right with a margin at the upper, lower and lateral edge of each page. The breadth of a written column averages about three inches. For verse the length of the lines naturally depends on the metre.

Good specimens are written very regularly and give the impression of print. The area of the written surface approximates to that of the modern octavo, which is the generally accepted standard size.

Not more than two books of the Iliad would occupy a roll. Long works were divided into 'books', each occupying a roll. Just as a modern reader expects each volume of a work to end at an appropriate point, so the classical reader expected this at the end of each roll. Shorter works were arranged several to a roll.

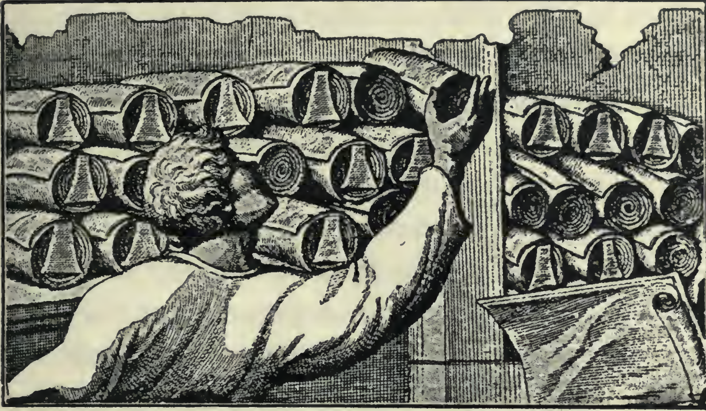
Ancient books were written in a remarkably fine script which the publishing houses developed. Words are mostly spaced apart in Latin books but not in Greek ones. There is not much punctuation. There are no chapters: this is the reason why ancient writers only cite a book when quoting, which is vague by modern standards.

Writing was done with a reed (*calamus*), which was pointed and split with a special penknife. Ink was made from natural dyes. It is rich as chinese ink, and gleams jet black to this day. The Romans wrote titles, and sometimes headings, in red ink. They also used special instruments, such as ruler and compasses, to keep the length and spacing of lines even. A still-life of the various writing materials (calamus, inkwell, etc.)together with book-rolls, can be seen among the murals of Herculaneum, which are now housed in the National Museum in Naples.

Illustrated books seem to have been nothing out of the ordinary. Mathematical works, to be understood, needed explanatory figures. Two Papyrus fragments, parts of Euclid, contain drawings. According to Pliny, the Greeks made a practice of illustrating pharmacological books with coloured pictures of the plants described. The Romans decorated biographies with portraits. Pliny declares it a brilliant idea for the learned Varro to have illustrated his great work of portraiture '*Imagines*' (also known as '*Hebdomades*') with 700 pictures of outstanding personalities, thereby giving them 'both immortality and omnipresence'. The production of this unique work – emphatically an edition for the general public – merits special attention. How it was possible to make as many copies of such a richly illustrated book without recourse to mechanical reproduction, remains a problem.

Great authors, Vergil for instance, had their books prefaced by a portrait of themselves.

The title of the book is not always mentioned on the scroll itself. Occasionally it is found at the beginning, more often at the end. It is, however, marked on a little parchment label fixed to the outside of the scroll. In the British Museum there is a papyrus fragment of the lyric poet Bacchylides, the label of which is still preserved with the inscription '*Bakchylidou Dithyramboi*'. On the frescoes of Herculaneum labels can be seen hanging out of the rolls.



Book-Rolls in the Store-Room of a Library. So-called Neumagen-Relief
See also page 56

In Roman literature one finds frequent references to the outward appearance of the rolls. The top and bottom were specially edged and carefully polished with pumice and even gaily coloured. Unrolling and rolling-up, while reading, were made easy by the use of a round wooden stick which was inserted in the roll or affixed to its end. There are traces of such sticks on the rolls found in Herculaneum. On the other hand, nothing has been found of other ornaments which some authors describe: the rods are said to have been of ebony, ivory, or even gold, and the rolls kept in cases of purple leather, which protected them like a binding.

Both hands are used in reading. The left holds the beginning, and rolls up each finished page, while the right unrolls each new one. The whole book when read,

has to be rolled back, to be ready for re-use. A graceful mural painting from Pompeii, now in the Naples Museum, shows a young woman in a yellow chiton and green tunic, who is so deeply absorbed in her book that she has forgotten to roll up the pages she has read, and leaves them hanging down.

The subject of another fresco, also from Pompeii and now in Naples, is a blonde beauty standing on a balcony, dressed in a light green garment under a red mantle, and looking at a book she holds open in both hands.

The visitor to the Vatican will be familiar with the statue of the comedy-writer Poseidippus reclining on a chair. He is holding in his right hand a roll he has just finished reading.

As a rule a scroll on a statue characterizes a poet, writer, scholar or orator, but on many antique figures it is only a modern addition.

Throughout the classical period till the end of the third century A.D. the papyrus roll was supreme. After that time it was replaced by parchment. This writing material, made from animal skins, was by no means unknown during the papyrus age. It was known early in classical times. Pliny relates that, according to the antiquarian Varro, parchment was discovered in Pergamon, actually as a substitute for Egyptian papyrus. Ptolemy Epiphanes, King of Egypt 205-182 B.C., is said to have forbidden the export of papyrus, a measure

directed against Eumenes II, King of Pergamon, whose capital possessed a library which he was bringing into close competition with the famous libraries of Alexandria. It was probably at Pergamon that parchment—known long before as a writing-material—was first used for books, and especially for books in the customary roll form. The parchment roll could only be a transitional stage in the development of the book, as it is too heavy and difficult to handle. For this reason the codex-form with its separate leaves appeared. From this the modern book developed.

No mention of the parchment book is made in literature prior to the second half of the first century of the Christian era. Martial (40–104 A.D.) knows of it, especially in a miniature format for travelling, for school editions and anthologies, in short, for uses to which tough parchment is better suited than delicate papyrus. It is obvious that such editions are not ordinary books from the stress laid, each time, on the fact that they are 'on vellum' (*in membranis*). Parchment was more lasting and cheaper than papyrus, but only with great difficulty gained an assured position in the booktrade. Pliny describes the manufacture of papyrus down to the smallest detail, but devotes not a line to the making of vellum. His beautiful epigram, that 'were it not for books, human culture would pass into oblivion as quickly as man himself', is expressly confined to the papyrus roll

(*charta*). All ancient book-production being entirely centred round this light, elegant form, there was a prejudice against the clumsy vellum book. The great physician Galen who worked in the second century A.D. was of the opinion, on medical grounds, that vellum, with its shine, strains and tires the eyes more than papyrus, which does not reflect light. The jurist Ulpian, who died in 229 A.D., examined from the legal standpoint the question of whether parchment codices are to be treated as books at all when a library is bequeathed. In the case of papyrus rolls he assumes this as obvious.

It was precisely for legal works and records that the advantages of the vellum codex eventually won appreciation. These volumes had to resist the wear and tear of being referred to again and again. They had to be cheap, as they were bought by men in every walk of life. For the same reasons the early Church preferred the codex for religious works. This form became so characteristic of Christian literature that in Egypt, the home of papyrus, codices were even made of papyrus instead of the usual vellum. In pagan literature, on the other hand, the papyrus roll unquestionably took first place until the fourth century A.D. Yet even here the vellum codex gained more and more ground. Its victory was the more rapid owing to considerable improvements in the manufacture of the newer material, which had already reached a high standard in the third century A.D. The

Girl Reading on a Balcony, Mural Painting from Pompeii
See page 17

Opened Book Roll
See page 14

young Emperor Maximinius studied from a Homer written in golden ink on purple vellum. This luxury, to the sorrow of the Fathers of the Church, appeared also in religious works. A well-known example is the Codex Argenteus (silver writing on cherry-coloured vellum), which is kept in Upsala.

In the fourth century the task of re-writing the whole of classical literature on vellum was begun. As early as the year 372 an edict of Valentinian speaks of the employment in libraries of a staff of writers for producing codices.

The so-called old manuscripts (palimpsests) which are treasured in the great modern libraries (the Vatican in Rome, Laurentiana in Florence, the British Museum, etc.) are not originals dating from classical antiquity, but are private copies written by the monks for their monastery libraries during the Middle Ages. In the peaceful seclusion of the monasteries a small part of the literature of the ancients survived the wreck of the classical world. From antiquity itself we have inherited only fragments which cannot be compared in scope or importance with the treasures of the monasteries.

THE GREEK BOOK-TRADE

The more the literature of a people flourishes and the wider the circle of authors and readers extends, the less contact is there between the creator of a work and those interested in it. In place of the audience comes the reader, and in place of the home-made copy comes the commercial reproduction–in other words the book. The bookseller takes his place between author and public. The book-trade is as old as the book itself.

At first the bookseller was, to put it anachronistically, manufacturer, publisher and retailer all in one. Only the growth of literary output and a soaring trade in books, brought a division of labour: the separation of the publisher, who in antiquity also looked after the production of the books, from the retailer, who distributed the books of the various publishers to the reader.

This division is not to be found in the Greek book-trade. Very scant information on books has come down to us; and when here and there the silence is broken the

comments of the various authors are inconclusive and sometimes contradictory.

The beginning of the Greek book-trade may be put in the fifth century B.C., when literature reached its golden age. At the time of Socrates and Aristophanes the great masterpieces of poetry, history and other branches of learning were already widely distributed. Unless books were manufactured on a commercial scale, such distribution is unthinkable. In the Apology of Plato, Socrates explains that the writings of the philosopher Anaxagoras are to be bought everywhere for a drachma (4 gold pence). Xenophon tells in his Memories of Socrates how the master with his pupils used to work through 'books' (he uses the actual word '*biblion*') of earlier sages, and make excerpts from them. There must even have been widespread overseas export of books, reaching as far as the Greek colonies on the Black Sea, as can be seen from the description in Xenophon's Anabasis of the cargoes of the ships stranded at Salmydissus. The bibliographer Athenaeus quotes a lost work 'Linos', by the comedy-writer Alexis who lived in the fourth century B.C. Linos says to the young Hercules:

'Pick yourself out a nice book from there. Look at the titles and see if they interest you. Here are Orpheus, Hesiod, Choemilus, Homer, Epicharmus. Here are plays and all else you could wish for. Your choice shall show your interests and your taste.'

Hercules: 'I'll take this one.'

Linos: 'Let me see what it's about.'

Hercules: 'A cookery book, as the title shows.'

Aristophanes in his 'Frogs' several times speaks of books with a touch of sarcasm, as if they were a craze just at the height of popularity. He jests: 'Everyone reads books these days for the sake of this so-called education.'

Dionysius of Halicarnassos quotes a remark of Aristotle, that in Athens the speeches of famous orators are sold in their hundreds. He is clearly talking of current reading matter. So Athens was by that time a noted market for books as one would expect from the high standard already attained by Greek culture.

The attitude of an author of Plato's importance shows how little developed was the publishing business. In the Phaedo he speaks with disdain of the value of writings and gives unconditional preference to the more expressive and vigorous word of mouth. He only lent out his manuscripts for copying to a narrow circle of pupils and friends. The few copies in circulation used to be hired out by their owners for high fees.

When private copies were required, calligraphers were to be had whose trade it was to copy books. Enterprising copyists kept in stock works which were in great demand. If they were able to put up enough capital they employed a staff of skilled scribes in their factories. Thus began a

real publishing service, primitive and restricted though it was.

Nothing is known of the relations between the Greek author and his publisher. Nowhere is any indication found of the payment of author's fees, nowhere the slightest hint of a copyright protection. From the extensive plagiarism found even among the greatest authors it is evident that the creator of a work had no exclusive right in it. In the 'Frogs' of Aristophanes, accusations of the appropriation of literary matter are made against each other by Aeschylus and Euripides. In commentaries on the 'Knights' and 'Clouds' of Aristophanes he is himself reproached with wholesale plunderings from Cratinus and Eupolis. Plato, according to Gellius, is attacked in a satirical poem by Timon, the reason being that he has acquired at the high price of 10,000 denarii (about £180 gold), some manuscripts of Philolaus, a follower of Pythagoras, from which to 'scrape together' his whole wisdom. A similar version of this story is told by Diogenes Laertius: for 40 Alexandrian silver *minae* (about £750 gold) Plato bought, from the possessions of the deceased Philolaus, three books written by the latter, and from them pieced together his 'Timaeus'. The same kind of thing is reported of other great writers, and can by no means be carelessly waved aside as legend.

The reproduction and distribution of their creations

brought no financial gain to the authors. It can only have been idealistic–including perhaps political–motives which prompted them to publish.

The founding of the famous library in Alexandria, about 300 B.C., brought about a great increase in the volume of Greek book production. The library and the schools of learning attached to it drew many students from all parts of the Hellenic world to Alexandria which became the new centre of Greek learning and culture. This circumstance, with the excellent material at hand in the library, made the town the metropolis of the Greek book-trade. All possible proofs of a flourishing book industry are encountered, among them popular editions of the classics, anthologies, collections of proverbs, digests, and a whole mass of light reading-matter of little value. Production and sales grew to great proportions, often at the cost of quality, as is typical of a sellers' market. Strabo speaks of worthless editions full of errors, which flooded the market in Alexandria and later in Rome. Among papyrus fragments one finds tasteful and carefully corrected editions of masterpieces and other writings side by side with badly written and unreliable almanacs containing laudatory or disparaging *bons mots* from plays about the fair sex.

In order to obtain a good idea of the extent of the Greek book-trade one must remember that, only a tiny part, even of the masterpieces of Greek literature, has

survived, and that the number of lost works is many times the number of those that have come down to us. As a matter of interest it may also be mentioned that the Greeks had the greatest variety of books on cookery, gastrology, angling and horsebreeding, as the accounts of Athenaeus show.

What books were popular favourites? To a degree the literary part of the papyrus discoveries reflects the tastes of their time. The papyri actually originate from Egyptian provincial towns, but the level of culture and thought in the various hellenistic lands of the Mediterranean–outside the great centres of culture–would seem to reveal no outstanding differences.

Charles Henry Oldfather uses the papyrus fragments as material for research on Greco-Roman civilisation in Egypt. ('The Greek Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt', Madison 1923, University of Wisconsin Studies). He gives a complete survey of literary papyri, excepting school editions (pp. 80 *et seq.*)

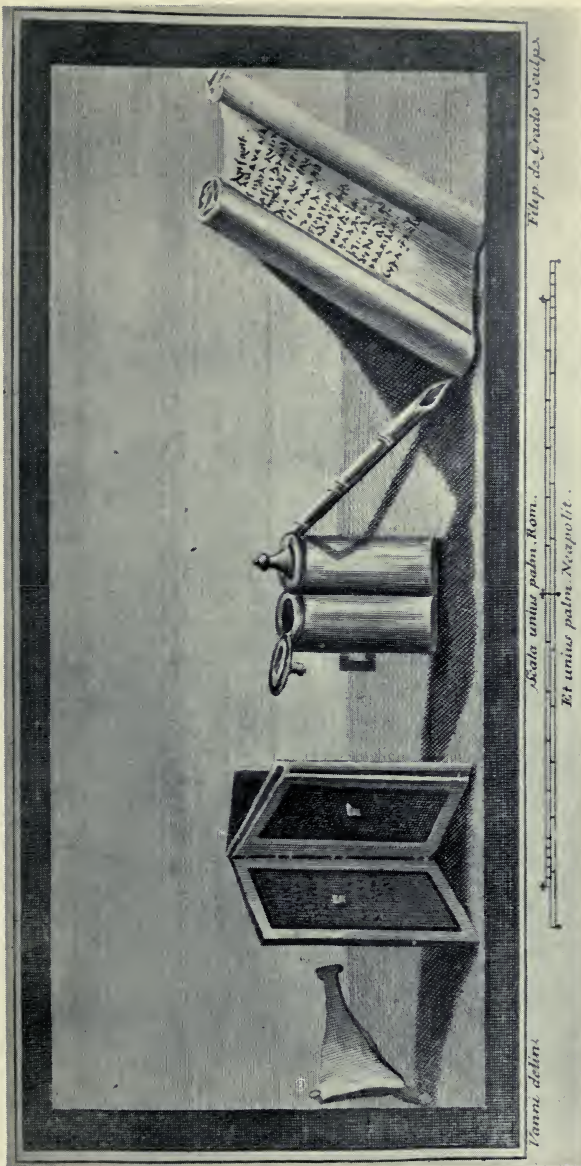
Editions of Homer retrieved from the sands of the desert seem inexhaustible. Discoveries hardly ever fail to yield a scrap from the Iliad or the Odyssey. By 1933, fragments from the Iliad numbered 315 as against 80 from the Odyssey. Homer's works were the common property of all Hellenes and therefore spread wherever Hellenes lived. Fragments from the Iliad represent nearly one half of all literary finds, and their lay-out is often of

unusual beauty. Fragments of the Odyssey lag a long way behind the Iliad. Next to Homer, Demosthenes—protagonist of lost freedom—occupies the foremost position; he was particularly widely read at the time of the Roman occupation of Egypt. On the other hand, interest in Euripides who was one of the most popular authors for three centuries B.C., gradually diminished. Menander and Plato continued to be favoured by the general public at all times. They are followed by Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, Hesiod, Pindar, Sophocles, Herodotus, Aristophanes, Sappho, Theocritus and Bacchylides, in that order. Aristotle is hardly represented, the towering Aeschylus not at all.

This list shows that the classical tradition was, with some concessions to the taste of the day, preferred, and that modern literature was very neglected. It bears witness to a relatively high standard of education, to the surprisingly wide distribution of books and thus to the immense extent and influence of the book trade.

No conclusions about general taste can be drawn from the 1,800 books found in Herculaneum. Those that have been successfully deciphered appear to be part of a completely one-sided philosophical library of epicurean works, a personal hobby of their owner.

The public burning of books is unfortunately not an invention of modern barbarism. In the year 411 B.C.



Still Life of Writing Materials and Book Rolls,
Mural Painting from Herculaneum. See page 15

Reading Woman, Mural Painting from Pompeii
See page 17

books belonging to the philosopher Protagoras were seized and publicly burnt in Athens because their contents displeased those who were in power at the time. Officials even confiscated copies of private editions from their owners' homes.

ROMAN PUBLISHERS

After the subjugation of Greece, Rome fell under the magic influence of Hellenic culture. Great quantities of Greek books flowed into Rome, originally as booty. Soon Greek booksellers also came to Rome. They were publishers and retailers in one.

Publishing concerns soon showed signs of organized manufacture. In order to be able to deal with the work of reproduction quickly and on a large scale, the publishers kept a specially trained staff. For this job slaves were employed, usually Greeks as far as we can judge from names known to us. They were much sought after and expensive. A whole staff of such copyists represented a considerable capital outlay. Horace directs his wit at the prices paid by connoisseurs for slaves who 'have a smattering of Greek'. According to Seneca 100,000 sesterces (about £ 1,000 gold) used to be paid for a '*servus literatus*'. Slaves were even educated as calligraphers from childhood. Though enslaved, they were paid for their work. Wages were, however, low, especially under the

early emperors. Later on, the rates of pay were better. The Emperor Diocletian in an edict fixes the maximum price for 100 lines of the finest writing at 25 denarii ($5\frac{1}{2}$ gold pence); for a lower standard the rate was 20 denarii. Female slaves were also said to be experienced and skilful copyists, just as women today have proved their worth as compositors.

Commercial reproduction was done in such a way that a number of copyists worked at the same time. Whether the subject-matter was dictated, which is likely, or whether the original was shared between them, is not certain. A well organized publishing firm could in a few days put on the market hundreds of copies of a new book.

In spite of mass-production and low rates of pay, the costs of manufacture were still considerable. The chief reason for this was the high capital outlay which had to be invested in skilled labour. No wonder the publishers insisted on rapid work so as to use available time to the best advantage! But the result of hastening the tempo was that careless errors frequently crept into the work of the copyists. The complaints of authors—and no less of readers—about copyists' nonsensical mistakes are endless. Cicero is so indignant at this that he speaks of 'books full of lies'. When a Latin book swarms with errors, this is to be explained by the fact that the copyists were Greeks who had an imperfect command

of the foreign language. Cicero complains to his brother: 'I no longer know where to turn for Latin books, the copies on the market are so slovenly.'

Conscientious publishers sought to put a check to this evil by employing special readers for correcting. Papyrus fragments with subsequent corrections have survived. Authors attached a high value to carefully corrected copies of their works. Cicero forbade his publisher and friend Atticus to put in circulation uncorrected copies of his discourse 'De Finibus'. Atticus was very generous. He even had additional corrections made for Cicero, which the latter requested at the last moment because he had made a mistake. The author himself looked through presentation copies for patrons or special friends.

Not only authors, however, but also purchasers of books, insisted on correct editions. When buying old or rare books, experts (grammarians) were called in for advice. Since the copyists sometimes left out parts of the text through carelessness or laziness, the number of lines was checked against a standard copy and noted down in the book under examination. Such numberings are to be found in the Herculaneum papyri. They also served as a basis for the calculation of the copyist's pay and the retail price.

There are a few vague indications of the number of books published in one edition. Pliny the Younger in one place mentions an edition numbering 1,000. This book,

Roman Couple, Pompeii
See page 18

Castor Temple in the Roman Forum
See page 47

however, seems to have been distributed as a gift only to friends and acquaintances and was probably what we today call a private edition. Much information can be gained from a letter in which Cicero asks his publisher Atticus to make some corrections subsequent to completion of the books, but even here it is not possible to give exact figures. The work in question is the well-known defence of Ligarius, which was published by Atticus. Cicero had made an awkward mistake about some one mentioned in the speech. When this was brought to his notice he asked Atticus to have the name crossed out in every copy, this to be done by the copyists Pharnaces, Antaeus and Salvius, expressly mentioned in the letter. If three specially chosen copyists were needed to undertake such a slight alteration, then the edition produced must have been large indeed.

Various authors record that successful works were sold not only in Rome itself but also in all the provinces of the Roman Empire, which also points to large editions.

Of Varro's great illustrated biographical work Pliny says that it was circulated to the furthest corners of the earth. Horace is proud that his poems are read on the banks of the Bosphorus, in Gaul, Spain, Africa, and other parts of the great Empire. He prophesies that the 'Ars Poetica' will be a universal best-seller: 'Such a book will traverse the seas.' Propertius boasts that his name is famed even up in the cold countries of the North. Ovid

consoles himself in exile with: 'What I write goes from East to West throughout the world', or again 'I am the most widely read author in the world'. Later Martial asserts the same of himself in one of his epigrams, and in another he says 'my books are in the hands of every man in Rome'. In yet another he says: 'In the beautiful town of Vienne (Dauphiné) I am read by young men and old—and even ladies.' Large quantities of books were also sold to the numerous public libraries, to be found even in small towns, and to the bibliophiles with their extensive collections. Such a keen demand could not have been satisfied by small editions.

Exact records were kept of all books sold and all presentation copies given away. Atticus, at least, had this done in his shops.

The book trade, therefore, was quite considerable in extent. In spite of this it can hardly be assumed that publishers fixed the number of copies in an edition beforehand, as is done today. At first they must have issued only a limited number in the case of an unknown author, in order to judge what impression the book created. A guide to public interest could be gained from recitals which since imperial days had become customary, preferably in public places. Horace pokes fun at the habit of poets reciting their verses to the bathers in the *thermae*, much to the discomfort of the latter. In Petronius' Satyricon, that matchless novel of adventure and vulgar-

ity, the bombastic poetaster Eumolpus declaims his verses in a public picture-gallery. The public expresses its disapproval by chasing him off with stones.

Apparently the publishers sometimes brought out not the whole, but only a part, of a work at first, in order to wait for the effect and then to publish the rest.

The first publisher whose name has come down to us, presents an exceptional picture. He is Atticus, friend of Cicero. This wealthy grandseigneur combined refined culture of spirit with keen business ability. He dealt in books on a grand scale, employing large numbers of slaves or freedmen, whose work he personally directed. Cornelius Nepos in his biography of Atticus relates that among his slaves he owned highly educated men and a whole lot of copyists. He published not only the works of Cicero but also those of other authors. He was also a retailer and sold single books or whole libraries. He published Varro's work of portraiture, whose production demanded not only an establishment with large accommodation for writing, but also some kind of equipment for mechanical reproduction of the hundreds of pictures. His business connections were so extended that Cicero made use of his help for distributing the book on his consulship in Athens and the other towns of Greece. Besides Atticus other publishers must have carried on business in Rome, as Cicero proposed to him that he should undertake the publication of all his speeches,

since he had made such a brilliant success of selling the Defence of Ligarius. There is not a word to suggest that Cicero had any share in the proceeds or received any profit from the sale of the work.

In the Augustan period, the brothers Sosii became immortal through their greatest author, Horace.

In the second half of the first century A.D., Tryphon stands out as the foremost publisher. He seems to have published most of the works of Martial who was a best-seller throughout the world. Quintilian's Rhetoric was also published by him. In a preface to this book, Quintilian addresses him as the effective author: 'Day by day you urge me finally to commence preparations for publishing my work on eloquence.' The publisher should be the author's adviser and helper, in ancient Rome no less than today. At the end of the prefatory letter Quintilian places his work in the hands of 'his' Tryphon.

A letter of this kind shows a real understanding based on trust between the author and his publisher.

Not a single unfriendly word by an author against a publisher is to be found in the whole of ancient literature, not even in the satirists and epigrammatists who are otherwise so biting. So the authors must have been well satisfied by the way in which their affairs were managed. This does not prevent them from occasionally pointing out with a malicious smile the excellent business their publishers do with their works. Horace draws an ironical

contrast in relation to a work that promises to be a public success: 'This is a book through which the Sosii (his publishers) will earn money, and the author fame'. Martial, always short of money, is so irritated by the profit the publisher draws from his works, that it becomes a favourite subject for his epigrams: 'The gentle reader can buy a fine volume comprising all my Xeniae for four sesterces. Actually four is too many. Two would be enough. And even then my publisher would get a handsome rake off.' If this is to be taken literally–and it has never been doubted–then the publisher must have reckoned on more than 100% profit. The modern publisher may well look back regretfully to the good old times!

The Xeniae of Martial mentioned above make up the thirteenth book of his epigrams. This consists of 127 headings and 274 verses, that is about 400 lines. The selling price is 4 sesterces, i.e. 11 gold pence, without taking into consideration the higher purchasing power of money in ancient times. According to Martial, the first book of the epigrams was sold for 5 denarii (4 shillings 3 pence), at least in a fine edition. In the opinion of the poet this is not at all cheap. By modern standards it is extremely expensive. The book contains 119 epigrams, altogether about 800 lines. Five denarii are more than one would spend today on a good copy of all the 14 books of Martial. If, however, one takes into account

the purchasing power of the denarius in Martial's day—(about 2 shillings 6 pence)—then the price of the Xeniae in modern money would be twelve shillings and six-pence. No wonder that a trade which allowed of such huge profits also attracted men who had no real interest in literature. This explains why Lucian, who lived in the second century A.D., speaks of certain booksellers with contempt. He calls them uncouth as barbarians and opines that they had no idea of the contents of the books they published. But even he has a good word for two publishers mentioned by name: for Callinus, whose beautiful editions, and Atticus, whose careful editions, were sought after in the whole world.

While the publishers amassed earthly wealth, the authors of Rome, no less than their colleagues in Greece, had to content themselves with what Juvenal calls 'empty fame'. It never occurred to the ancient authors to make their work pay with the help of their publishers, as is invariably done today.

Copyright protection is unknown even to Roman law, although this covers every other eventuality of life to the smallest detail. At any rate, not the slightest hint of it is to be found in the legal writings or indeed in any of the literature of antiquity. In spite of frequently recurring complaints about the plunder of their works and misuse of their name, the ancient writers nowhere mention whether or how they could protect themselves. This

omission and the silence of the jurists allow of no other explanation than that the law gave no help against such inroads on intellectual property.

Cicero wrote to Atticus: 'Is it your desire to publish my work against my will? Even Hermodorus never did that.' (This was a pupil of Plato, who carried on a lively trade, infamous throughout antiquity, in the works of his master.) Now Cicero did not say, 'if you publish my work against the author's wish you are offending against the copyright law', but he appeals to his friend on ethical grounds. Legal argument would have come easier to an advocate like Cicero.

Martial complains that his work is pirated by all sorts of people and that his famous name serves as an advertisement for worthless imitations. He compares plagiarism with robbery–but he does not threaten to take legal proceedings. The actual word plagiarism was originated by Martial. Under Roman law *plagiarius* stands for robber, the kidnapper (Dig. 48, 15; Cod. 9, 20). In epigram I. 53 Martial calls the literary thief '*plagiarius*'. The metaphor has become accepted in the language of every cultured nation.

Quintilian shared the lot of many modern professors. Students copied down his lectures and published them behind his back. He found himself compelled to publish an edition himself, a thing he had not originally intended to do. In his foreword he writes: 'The youngsters only

did it out of regard for me'—but not a word about a breach of law.

Galen had such unpleasant experiences with plagiarists and booksellers that he published, quite apart from his innumerable works on medicine, a few articles about their curious doings. As a matter of principle he had long ceased to publish the results of his examinations of patients. His notes were copied by others and made public, partly under false names. He had no choice but to bring out an authentic edition himself and thus make the incorrect copies worthless.

Saint Hieronymus complains in a letter that 'as soon as he wrote anything, friend and foe hurried to publish it".

These are only a few examples of impotent outbursts against such intellectual thefts. It is significant that not one of the authors complains about the lack of legal protection.

In spite of this, one would expect the authors to have some kind of agreement by which they would receive a share of the profits made through the sale of their work by the publishers. Yet even that was not so.

Cicero shows great delight over the great sale of his speech in defence of Ligarius. But the suggestion that he had an interest in the proceeds is unjust. He makes no mention of it, nor is there anywhere else in his voluminous correspondence with Atticus, where financial matters are frequently discussed, the slightest evidence

for supposing that he shared in the profits. On the contrary, he actually offers to help with the cost of publication of one of his works.

The majority of authors belonged to the highest circles of society, the patricians or the financial aristocracy. Noble Romans used to write only on subjects connected in some way with their occupations. Of what interest were an author's royalties to men like Sulla, Lucullus, Sallust, Caesar or the author-emperors like Marcus Aurelius, men who had many millions at their disposal? But even the poets who in general belonged to a less wealthy class, could not rely on payment from their publishers. Horace longed not for advance payments and percentages, but for a patron, whom he later found in Maecenas. Vergil too had him to thank for his financial independence. By republican times the poets enjoyed the favours of the great. The sarcastic Sulla gave an honorarium to a bad poet who had sung his praises in a piece of effusive bombast but on condition that he would never write anything again.

The 'Thebais' of the poet Statius aroused the greatest admiration at its public readings, but it brought him in nothing. He had to earn his living by writing scenarios for pantomimes. Martial, a best-seller the world over, is eternally begging money from his rich friends and complaining about the services required by patrons. When he leaves Rome for his native Spain after 34 years of the

highest literary triumphs, his friend Pliny has to pay his fare. He says resignedly, that he does not care whether his books are successful or not: 'What do I get out of it? My finances don't benefit.' This was why he looked for rich patrons, and why he lowered himself to despicable flatteries to the emperor who now and then lent a helping hand: 'I ask for nothing more than a place where I can lay myself down to rest.'

Martial, Juvenal and Pliny are all agreed that 'writing poetry brings renown and nothing else'. Tacitus does not even allow this: 'Versifying brings neither honour nor money. Even the fame which poets hope for as the sole reward for their troubles is given less to them than to public speakers '

The out and out sale of original manuscripts, clearly for the free disposal of the purchaser was known to the Romans as to the Greeks before them. Two such sales are reported. According to Suetonius, the learned Pompilius Andronicus had to dispose of one of his own manuscripts for 16,000 sesterces (£160 gold) to get some ready money. Pliny the Younger relates that his grandfather was offered 400,000 sesterces (£4,000 gold) for his great collection of excerpts. Neither buyer was a publisher.

Authors have also been known to sell their work to others for the express purpose of publication under the buyer's name. Martial pours scorn on Gallus and Lupercus, two poets of doubtful reputation,

because they take part in such unsavoury transactions.

Whilst it is true that the publisher took all profits from the books he brought out, he had usually to bear the risk of reproduction. Cicero consoles Atticus on the losses he suffered when he was left with a part of the edition of the 'Academica Priora' on his hands.

Since publishers only undertook the production of a limited number of copies, and no more, authors seem to have had no misgivings about making use of several publishers to put their works on the market. Martial mentions, besides Tryphon, also Secundus and Atrectus as his publishers, the last two both simultaneously for one and the same book of his Epigrams. The get-up of editions by different publishers was, however, probably dissimilar. It is definitely stated that Secundus sold a parchment miniature, while Atrectus put the usual papyrus roll in circulation.

As nowadays, books used to be favourite gifts on feast-days in ancient Rome, ranging from the cheapest editions of the classics to costly *de luxe* editions, as one would say in modern parlance. Martial has left us a short list of such books, to which he added dedicatory epigrams. One can assume that he chose the most popular works, and this is confirmed by the names of the authors.

Homer takes first place, even with the Romans. Vergil is next. Both formed the basis of teaching in schools. But Horace, who ranked among the leading authors for

schools, is not included in Martial's list at all. It gives instead Cicero, the martyr of republican Rome, Livy its historian, and the graceful Ovid with the Metamorphoses. As gifts for more exacting readers Martial suggests Menander's comedy Thais, Propertius, Sallust, Tibullus and Catullus.The only modern writer mentioned is Lucan, author of the Pharsalia. In the accompanying epigram Martial says that many schools of thought do not approve of this poet, but that the booksellers are, on account of the enormous sales of his works, of quite a different opinion. The old distinction between popular taste and literary worth.

With very successful authors, enterprising publishers do not seem to have fought shy even of fakes. They labelled obscure works with a famous name–and these imitations are in part still sailing under a false flag today, even where the sagacity of philologists has discovered the substitution.

While there are no reports of attacks on the freedom of literature by the State in the time of the democracy, the arbitrary power of the despots of imperial times made life bitter for authors and publishers, to put it mildly.

Augustus, friend and patron of poets though he was, originated this practice. He had two thousand books confiscated and publicly burnt, a bad example even for most recent generations! His successor Tiberius, who himself displayed literary leanings, did not even spare

the lives of objectionable authors and their publishers. Suetonius reports of him:—

'A poet was charged with having slandered Agamemnon in a tragedy, and a historian with having called Brutus and Cassius the last of the Romans. The writers were at once put to death and their works destroyed, although they had been read with approval in public some years before in the presence of Augustus himself.'

Tacitus, a reliable chronicler, confirms this and remarks that Tiberius took the verses of the tragedy as being directed against himself and his mother.

The mad Domitian seized on the slightest shadow of an excuse to rage against books, authors and publishers. 'By decree of the Senate' he ordered public burnings of books which had aroused his resentment, had the writers beaten to death, and the publishers and copyists crucified. One can see that in all ages tyrants have directed their malicious fury against works of the mind and their creators, and that there have always been creatures ready to hide their outrages under a cloak of legality.

Tacitus shows up the complete futility of any kind of police censorship by two sentences which he weaves into his description of these horrors. 'Through indifference one allows a thing to fall into oblivion, through bitterness one gives it recognition'; and again: 'As long as there was danger attached to it, men sought to obtain the banned books and read them; as soon as they could be had without trouble, they were forgotten.'

BOOKSHOPS IN ATHENS AND ROME

Bookshops in Athens are first mentioned by the early writers of comedies in about 430 B.C. According to Pollux they speak of booths where books are exhibited for sale. Other information on the subject is very scanty. The philosopher Zeno is stranded at Athens after a shipwreck, strolls around the harbour district, finds a bookshop and goes in. Alexander the Great, a passionate lover of books, gives instructions for the purchase in Athens of works by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and also poems and historical works. It is even possible that reading rooms or lending libraries existed. Diogenes Laertius mentions that Plato's writings could be referred to for a fee.

In Rome there were bookshops at least as early as Cicero's and Catullus's time. They were situated in the best and busiest shopping districts and were meeting-places for scholars and bibliophiles. We know of a number of bookshops in the time of the Empire. It may interest lovers of Rome to recall their sites. First of all

there is the business house of the Sosii brothers, Horace's publishers. It lies by Vertumnus and Janus, old places of worship to be found quite near the Forum, close behind the picturesque ruin of the temple of Castor with its three Corinthian columns.

If we go across the Forum from here to the ancient little round church of S. Cosmas and Damian, we come to the ruins of the Templum Pacis built by Vespasian. Secundus, one of Martial's publishers, settled down in its immediate vicinity. A few hundred steps in the direction of the Capitol, and we find ourselves at the site of Caesar's Forum, from which once upon a time the great thoroughfare Argiletum led up to the Esquiline. The publisher Atrectus had opened up his business in this road, and in its side streets were more bookshops.

On their entrances and pillars hung lists of available books marked with names of authors and titles, especially the latest. Apparently they also had display cabinets containing specimen extracts from the newest books, to excite the curiosity of the public. Most entertaining is Martial's reply to someone who asked him for a presentation copy: 'Near Caesar's Forum is a bookshop where both doors are plastered with advertisements. These display the titles of books in stock, and you only need cast a glance at the list. Go in and ask for my book. The owner—his name is Atrectus—will be extremely pleased to get a fine copy of Martial out of his first

or second shelf and let you have it for five denarii.'

Gellius states that Roman booksellers also used to allow inspection of rare or valuable books for a fee.

Beside the booksellers there were also 'Bouquinistes' who sold their wares cheap in pillared halls or in the streets. In the harbour at Brindisi, Gellius bought a whole heap of old Greek tomes for a song. Altogether it almost seems as if unsuccessful books used to be palmed on the provinces. Horace in a witty apostrophe to his new book alludes to the possibility of this fate overtaking it.

There were also first-class bookshops in the larger provincial towns. Pliny the Younger wonders at the bookshops in Lyons and is overjoyed that his books are sold there. Sidonius Apollinaris is able to tell of great purchases made by a friend of his at a Rheims bookshop.

One branch of the retailer's trade was the sale of rare old books. This brought evil practices with it. New books were stored with corn to give them an artificial yellow appearance of age, in order to give them a high selling value. The orator Libanius reports a ridiculous fake: the allegedly original manuscript of the Odyssey was put up for sale.

Rome remained the centre of the book-trade until, and even after, the decline of the ancient world. Sulpicius Severus (400 A.D.) relates that his book 'Vita S. Martini' was brought to Rome for its first appearance and that publishers and booksellers all over the world were pleased

Porticus of Octavia, Rome
See page 54

Vatican Library, Rome
See page 56

with the great demand for it, in spite of its high price.

We have it on the authority of the Venerable Bede that, even as late as the first half of the seventh century A.D., Benedict, Abbot of Wearmouth, brought home to England from his fourth journey to Rome 'a mass of books of all kinds'.

But the Barbarian invasions had dealt a death blow to all forms of culture and along with it went the ancient book-trade.

ANCIENT LIBRARIES AND BIBLIOPHILES

Only very little incoherent information is available about libraries in the golden age of Greek Literature. The first great collections of books are attributed to Polycrates, the ruler of Samos, and Pisistratus, the Athenian tyrant. Pisistratus is said to have thrown his collection open for public use, and the Athenians themselves seem to have added to it.

More reliable are reports of the existence of libraries in Athens after 400 B.C., all private ones. The poet Euripides owned a good collection of this kind, and the malicious Aristophanes doesn't miss this opportunity to make fun of this hobby of the playwright for whom he had little esteem.

Aristotle–as well as many lesser men–is mentioned as being a keen collector. He is said to have paid three attic Talents (£340 gold) for a few writings which the philosopher Speusippus left at his death. The library of Aristotle was not only remarkable for its extent; it was also the first library to be designed and arranged on a definite plan. It became the example upon which the great libraries of Alexandria were later constructed. It is difficult to imagine how Aristotle could have written

what he did without the continuous use of a scientifically ordered library, for his works included every branch of knowledge known at the time.

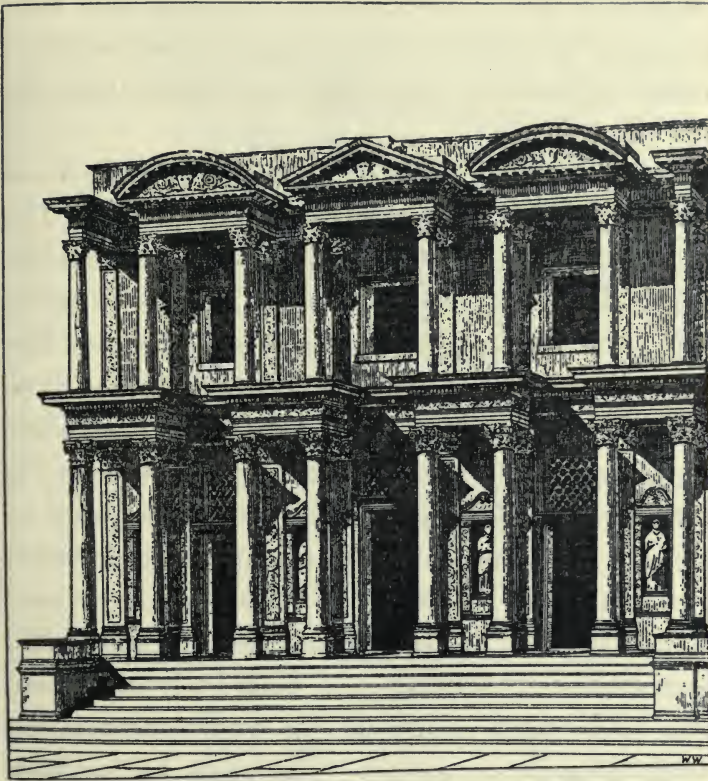
There is a gap in the picture until we hear of a great public library founded by the Emperor Hadrian in Athens. It was famous throughout antiquity. Pausanias marvels at its unsurpassed splendour, characteristic of the taste of this architecturally minded sovereign. Gold and alabaster glittered from the ceiling of the great hall. Wonderful frescoes decorated the walls. Everywhere stood statues of great writers of prose and verse. Quite considerable remains of the building can still be seen in Aeolus Street in Athens. They make an imposing impression.

In the Hellenic States public libraries had already been founded in the third century B.C. The dynasties of the Diadochs in Egypt and Asia Minor surrounded their courts with the whole splendour of Greek culture, and even sought to surpass each other in the excellence and opulence of their libraries.

The most famous of all the ancient libraries is the one which was founded by Ptolemy I in Alexandria (about 300 B.C.). It served as an example for all the later libraries, especially those of Rome. It owes its inception not only to idealistic, but also to political motives: it was to be a means of hellenizing the land of the Nile. This explains the remarkable fact that the literature of the

country in which the library was built was not represented in it at all. The library consisted of two separate sections, the greater being housed in the royal palace and the lesser in the temple of Serapis. It was headed by important scholars and writers. Even the Roman, whose eyes had become surfeited with luxury, found its pomp astounding and comparable only to the Roman Capitol itself. When Julius Caesar captured Alexandria in 47 B.C., in the course of the fighting a considerable part of the material was burnt. The complete collection before the disaster was said by Ammianus Marcellinus and Gellius to comprise 700,000 books. This number does not seem exaggerated when one takes into account three things: the library contained the whole of Greek Literature, of which it is known that by far the largest part has not survived. The dimensions of a scroll are small: Homer alone took up at least 24 scrolls for the Iliad and the Odyssey. And lastly Alexandria had several copies of most works, as is usual in the great modern libraries. Estimates of the number of books in the Alexandrian collections vary. Apart from Gellius the highest figure is given by Ammianus Marcellinus and is based on thorough investigations. No less a man than Gibbon vouches for the reliability and accuracy of this chronicler.

To make good the loss of the burnt volumes, Antony later presented Cleopatra with 200,000 books taken from the library of the Kings of Pergamon.



Library in Ephesus. Façade (Reconstruction)

The treasures lodged in the temple of Serapis were finally destroyed in the year 291 A.D. when the first Christians razed this pagan sanctum. It is an old wives' tale that the Calif Omar set fire to this library. On the contrary, it is an established fact that we have the Arabs to thank for the survival of many Greek works.

The library of Pergamon was founded as a rival to

Alexandria about a century after it. Its ruins have been excavated on the Acropolis of Pergamon and identified while the libraries of Alexandria have vanished from the face of the earth.

In Rome as in Greece the establishment of private libraries preceded the founding of public collections. The great quantities of books which victorious generals like Aemilius Paullus, Sulla and Lucullus brought to Rome as booty called for the foundation of public libraries. The collections of books which Sulla had plundered were inherited by his son Faustus; and Cicero, his guest while staying at Cumae, writes to Atticus that he is browsing in the library of the Imperator. Lucullus, whom posterity unjustly remembers chiefly for his culinary proclivities, owned a choice collection of books which he very generously made available to scholars and others who were interested. Another great book lover was Cicero who spent much money–on his own confession, too much–upon the satisfaction of his passion. He had large libraries in his villa in Tusculum as well as in his villas in Antium and Cumae. It seems that a library had already become a necessary part of the house of a distinguished Roman. It very quickly became a fashionable luxury.

Caesar was the first to plan a public library in Rome; but an untimely death prevented him from carrying out his idea. The honour due for its execution goes to the

Basilica Ulpia, Exterior (Reconstruction)
See page 55

Basilica Ulpia in the Trajan Forun

Rome (Present State). See page 55

Basilica Ulpia, Interior (Reconstruction)
See page 55

noble-minded general and statesman Asinius Pollio, who founded a public library in 39 B.C. out of the booty of his Dalmatian campaign. For the first time it contained Latin works as well as Greek.

This library was overshadowed by the two great collections which Augustus founded one on the Palatine and the other in the Portico of Octavia. The Palatine Library was joined to the grandiose temple of Apollo which Augustus consecrated after the battle of Actium. A part of its treasure of books was lost in a fire at the time of Commodus (about 200 A.D.), and the rest in a fire in 363 A.D. Temple and Library are among the few classical buildings on the Palatine of which no traces have been found. It is thought to have been situated on the corner of the hill opposite the arch of Constantine.

The other library, in the Portico of Octavia, was completely destroyed in a fire in the reign of Titus. A few columns and a portico near the theatre of Marcellus is all that remains today of the great buildings.

There are also important ruins still extant of the library set up by Tiberius in the temple of Augustus. In the early middle ages the building was converted into the Church of S. Maria Antiqua, which lies near the Temple of Castor in the Forum.

The one which survived longest was the Biblioteca Ulpia, built by Trajan on his forum. It was mentioned as late as the fifth century. It consisted of a Greek and a

Roman section in two separate buildings. Between them Trajan's Column was erected. Ruins of the masonry can still be seen.

According to the regional census of Constantine in 350 A.D. there were then 28 public libraries in Rome, of which we know the names of eight.

In the provinces too there were public collections of books, even in the smaller towns. Pliny the Younger founded one in his native town Como and invested capital for its maintenance. Gellius tells of a library, 'quite comprehensive' in both languages, in Tivoli, where many distinguished Romans spent the summer. This was a lending library, whereas ancient collections in general seem to have been for reading on the premises only.

As far as can be judged from ruins, the great public libraries had a Great Hall, which probably served as a reading-room. This was lavishly equipped with coloured marble, alabaster and precious metals, and there was no lack of frescoes and excessive plastic decoration. Cassiodorus even tells of artificial lighting of great brightness. Isidore mentions shelves of cedarwood and ebony. The store-rooms, on the other hand, where there were any at all, were badly kept. The scrolls lay on open shelves. The parchment labels with the titles hung out. Codices and, in Alexandria, even scrolls were kept in chests. A good idea of the general appearance of a big ancient

reading-room can be obtained from the Great Hall of the Vatican Library.

In imperial times a real bibliomania developed in the higher circles of Roman society and those who aspired to it. No country house was without its luxurious library. Since it was the thing to do, the *nouveaux riches* bought themselves books enough to panel all their walls. This type of uneducated 'book collector' is the prey of many satirists.

Petronius in the 'feast of Trimalchio' relates how this common *parvenu* boasts to his guests that he has two libraries, a Greek and a Latin one. Seneca talks of men who buy books by the thousand, but are the inferiors of their own servants in matters of culture: they have hardly read as much as the titles of their books in their whole lives; they only consider these as ornaments; they treat a library as just another modern convenience, like a decent bathroom. Lucian writes an invective against this sort of booklover. He makes fun of collectors who gloat over the fact of possessing books, without having the least understanding of them, and compares them with the donkey who doesn't even prick up his ears at the sound of music. Their library is nothing but a playground for mice, a home for moths and a terror for the servants, to use his own words.

The only ancient library which has been discovered is the one which was excavated at Herculaneum and con-

tained the 1,800 charred scrolls. It was a tiny room with remains of shelves around the walls. The shelves were decorated with wood inlays. In the middle stood a reading table. This little library cannot of course be taken as a typical example of the Roman luxury-libraries which were, on the contrary, not a whit behind the public libraries in magnificence.

The countless fine collections of books which survived till the fifth century of the Christian era have vanished without a trace. The invasions of the Germanic tribes buried them in the general collapse of ancient culture.

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The mural paintings from Herculaneum reproduced in the *Real Museo Borbonico*, Napoli 1824-57, I, 12; Cf. W. HELBIG, *Wandgemaelde Campaniens*, Leipzig 1868, p. 412 *sq.*

Page 16: Illustrations] PLINIUS, *Nat. Hist.* XXV, 8; XXXV, 11; MARTIAL XIV, 186; SENECA, *Epist.*, *princ.* IX, 6; OXYRHYNCHUS PAPERS, Vol. I, p. 58; FAYUM PAPERS, Vol. IX, p. 96.
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Page 17: Make up of scrolls] CATULL I, 2 and XXII, 8.

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Purple covers] MARTIAL I, 66, 11 and III, 2, 10; TIBULL. III, 1, 10; LUCIAN *ubi supra.*
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Page 19: Parchment] PLINIUS, *Nat. Hist.* XIII, 70; ISIDORUS, *Ethymol.* VI, 11, 1; FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Antiquitates Jud.* XII, 2, 11; MARTIAL, I, 2 and XIV, 184, 186, 188, 190; GALEN, Ed. Kuehne, Vol. XVIII, p. 630 and Vol. III, p. 776; *Digests* XXXII, 52 pr.
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Page 23: PLATO, *Apology* 26d; XENOPHON, *Memorab.* I, 6, 14; ATHENAEUS IV, 57 (Ed. Kaibel Vol. I, p. 370); ARISTOPHANES, *Frogs*, Verses 52 and 1145.

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